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## Hospitality narratives in Virgil and Callimachus: the ideology of reception

*Abstract:* This article highlights the extent and significance of the intertextual relationship between reception-narratives in Virgil's *Aeneid* (Aeneas and Evander) and Callimachus' *Aetia* (Heracles and Molercus) and *Hecale* (Theseus and Hecale). Encompassing Aeneas' succession to Hercules as Evander's guest, his failed pledge to his host, and his acquisition of a shield on which his historical successor, Augustus, is depicted, Callimachean intertextuality informs the narrative of the *Aeneid* in its widest sweep. As the archetypal scene of Homeric hospitality (Odysseus and Eumaeus) is received from Callimachus by the new Homer of Augustan Rome, the narrative of reception becomes one of intertextual and cultural appropriation, the dynamics of which are far from those of amicable exchange.

'The new poem both needs the old texts and must destroy them. It is both parasitical on them, feeding ungraciously on their substance, and at the same time it is the sinister host which unmans them by inviting them into its home, as the Green Knight invites Gawain.'

J. Hillis Miller<sup>1</sup>

### Hors d'oeuvre: the reception of reception

Scenes of hospitality (*xenia*, *hospitium*) are typical in epic and epicizing narrative since Homer.<sup>2</sup> This article is concerned primarily with the instance in the eighth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas shelters in Evander's quasi-pastoral

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<sup>1</sup> Miller (1977) 447.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards (1992) 304-6 provides an overview of previous scholarship. See now Reece (1993). In relation to the texts and intertexts under analysis here, see Hollis (1990) 341-54 and Massimilla (2010) 224-5.

enclave during the prevailing war against the Latins.<sup>3</sup> The ultimate model for this account of *hospitium*, as for all other versions of this type-scene, is the Homeric episode in which Odysseus, poised to overthrow the ignoble and profligate suitors, is received by Eumaeus, his humble swineherd but noble host (*Od.* 14-16).<sup>4</sup> Its homely and antiheroic ethos had previously recommended the same Homeric interlude to Callimachus, as witnessed through its reception in his *Aetia* and *Hecale*. The centrepiece of the *Aetia* embeds, within an epinician for Berenice's victory at the Nemean Games, the aetiological tale of Heracles' reception by Molorus during his expedition against the Nemean lion (fr. 54-60j Harder).<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Callimachus' *Hecale* epyllion traces the Attic deme of Hecale and the cult of Zeus Hecalaeus from the name of the old woman who hosted Theseus during his campaign against the bull of Marathon.<sup>6</sup> The similarities between Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* may go yet further than their fragments and testimonia disclose,<sup>7</sup> but they are already sufficient to bring either one, or both, into view as intermediaries in Virgil's subsequent reception of the Homeric source-text in the *Aeneid*.<sup>8</sup> Like Odysseus in Homer and like Heracles and Theseus in Callimachus, then, and following in the footsteps also of the Virgilian Hercules who, in the chronology of the *Aeneid*, had recently been hosted by Evander at the time of his victory over Cacus and foundation of the Ara Maxima, Aeneas becomes the latest hero to enjoy the humble *xenia* of a

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<sup>3</sup> For an overview of *hospitium* in the *Aeneid*, see Wiltshire (1989) 83-105.

<sup>4</sup> On *Aen.* 8 and *Od.* 14, see principally Knauer (1964) 252-4 ('der erste Tag bei Euander und bei Eumaios'); see also Wimmel (1973) 53-73, at 59, 72-3, in a discussion of *Aen.* 8 as 'Reduktion' of epic models.

<sup>5</sup> On the *Victoria Berenices* and *Od.* 14, see Fuhrer (1992) 104-7; Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 81-3; Harder (2002) 193-5; Ambühl (2005) 78-82; Massimilla (2010) 224, 253-4; Harder (2012b) 426-38 esp. 426-7.

<sup>6</sup> On the *Hecale* and *Od.* 14, see esp. Ambühl (2004) 32-40; Ambühl (2005) 72-8; Skempis (2010) esp. 72-150. See also Wimmel (1973) 59; Hollis (1990) 343. Gutzwiller (1981) 54-8 emphasises a comparison with *Od.* 10.352-72 (Circe's reception of Odysseus). On the *Hecale* and Homer more generally, see Cameron (1995) 441-5; McNelis (2003); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 249-55.

<sup>7</sup> On the similarities, see esp. Ambühl (2004) and (2005) 31-97, esp. 58-63; see also Hollis (1990) 344-5; Cameron (1995) 446-7; Massimilla (2010) 224.

<sup>8</sup> On the *Victoria Berenices* and *Aen.* 8, see George (1974); Gransden (1976a) 26; Nadeau (1989) 99; Tueller (2000) 371-5; Massimilla (2010) 224-5. On the *Hecale* and *Aen.* 8, see Wimmel (1973) 59-62, 72-3, 128; Gransden (1976a) 26, 107; Hollis (1990) 350; Tueller (2000) 371, 372 n.26; Skempis (2010) 159. On Apuleius' recognition of this intertextuality at *Met.* 1.23.4-6, see Harrison (2013) 138-40.

Greek elder before defeating a foe and securing the conditions for the survival of his people.

The Ptolemaic context in which the *Aetia* and *Hecale* were composed is a matter of no small significance in the present analysis. That same context looms large in *Aeneid* 8, which includes a prophetic ecphrasis of Augustus' victory over Cleopatra at Actium (*Aen.* 8.675-713) and prefigures basic aspects of that victory in the epyllion of Hercules' defeat of Cacus.<sup>9</sup> Literary reception in *Aeneid* 8 is thus part of the project which establishes Virgil as an Augustan – not just Roman – Homer: after Actium, Virgil's Homeric intertextuality reads as a charged counter-appropriation of the Homer employed in Hellenistic texts with a political agenda of their own.<sup>10</sup> Callimachus' epinician for Berenice's victory at the Nemean Games asserts the queen's Argive ancestry and encloses a narrative which intimates her descent from Heracles.<sup>11</sup> The Homeric model at the core of this nexus mediates these aspects of Ptolemaic identity on a template of suitably Hellenic and heroic pedigree. Similarly, in the *Hecale*, Homeric intertextuality combines with Atthidography to promote a narrative of heroic *xenia* that can be read against the backdrop of the geopolitical alliance established in Callimachus' lifetime between Athens and Alexandria against the Macedonian occupation of Attica.<sup>12</sup> It may well be significant that the Atthidographer Philochorus, an important source for Callimachus in writing the *Hecale*,<sup>13</sup> is recorded in the *Suda* (s.v. = *FGrHist* 328 T1) as having been put to death

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<sup>9</sup> The symbolic potential of the Hercules-Cacus epyllion is, of course, more complex: for an overview of readings, see Hardie (1998) 92-3.

<sup>10</sup> For a major study of Hellenistic poetry's mediation of Virgil's reception of Homer, see Nelis (2001). For a miniature case-study of the same phenomenon, one might compare the migration of the Homeric hapax σκύφος ('cup') from *Od.* 14.112 to *Aen.* 8.278 (only here in Virgil) via its sole appearance in Theoc. at *Id.* 1.143 (cf. *Ecl.* 1.36-7): see Wills (1987), Farrell (1997).

<sup>11</sup> On the ideological force of the *Aetia*, see Weber (1993) 264-6; Selden (1998); Stephens (2002) 235-70, with 246-55 on the *Victoria Berenices*; Harder (2003); Asper (2011); Barbantani (2011); Acosta-Hughes and Stevens (2012) 148-203; Harder (2014); Clayman (2014) 89-104 and (on the *Victoria Berenices*) 145-7.

<sup>12</sup> On Athens and the Ptolemies in this period, see Habicht (1992), esp. 68-75; see also Clayman (2014) 137-41. These circumstances are brought into relation with the *Hecale* by Asper (2004) 37-8; Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 196-202; Benedetto (2011) 363-7. Intriguing in this connection is an Athenian inscribed decree (*Agora* xvi 213), dating to 248/7 BC, which records one Callimachus among the donors to a fund for 'the salvation of the city and the defence of the countryside': for the association with our Callimachus, see Oliver (2002).

<sup>13</sup> See Hollis (1990) 6-7 with n.8.

by Antigonus (sc. Antigonus II Gonatas) for supporting Ptolemy (sc. Ptolemy II Philadelphus), presumably after the Chremonidean War (263/2 BC) in which Athens fell to Macedonian rule.<sup>14</sup> Amid these heated international relations, the parallel narratives of the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* might even be taken to suggest the co-ordination of Ptolemaic and Athenian cultural values in opposition to the forces that would undermine their reciprocal *xenia*. This intertextual alliance will have been all the more powerfully felt given that the *Victoria Berenices* at the start of *Aetia* 3 was directly preceded by the celebration of Athens that, as far as we can tell, bookended *Aetia* 2.<sup>15</sup> In such ways as these the politics of Callimachus' present can be sensed in the mythological past of his *xenia* narratives. The reception of these political texts by Virgil on the site of Rome in *Aeneid* 8, then, will be pertinent to the post-Ptolemaic and Augustan 'now' that is so immanent in this book of the epic.<sup>16</sup>

The similarity to *Aeneid* 8 of these Callimachean tales of hospitality has not gone unrecognized,<sup>17</sup> but there is more to say about the depth of their penetration into the Virgilian narrative. Likewise, the typological and ideological implications of these legendary narratives vis-à-vis Augustus' historical victory at Actium and subsequent 're-founding' of Rome are well appreciated,<sup>18</sup> but little has been made of Virgil's poignant structuring of these typologies on the narratives of Ptolemaic eulogy whose production-line the Battle of Actium had effectively terminated.<sup>19</sup> An improved vantage-point from which to consider these questions is now afforded by Annette Harder's monumental edition of the fragments of Callimachus' *Aetia*, alongside other recent studies.<sup>20</sup> Building on previous scholarship, the present article suggests that new light can be shed on the episode of Aeneas' reception by Evander in *Aeneid* 8 by

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<sup>14</sup> For this significance, see Benedetto (2011) 365-7.

<sup>15</sup> See Harder (2012b) 381-2 on fr. 51.

<sup>16</sup> The classic studies of this immanence are Drew (1927) and Binder (1971). See also Camps (1969) 95-104, 137-43.

<sup>17</sup> See n.8 above.

<sup>18</sup> See n.9 and n.15 above.

<sup>19</sup> For pointers in this analysis, see Hunter (2006) 143-4; Barchiesi (2011) esp. 532-3. Of significance here is a stratum of allusion in the Shield of Aeneas to the prophecy of Ptolemaic rule embedded in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* (hy. 4): see Fusi (2016) 227-32.

<sup>20</sup> Harder (2012a) and (2012b). For case-studies of reception of the *Aetia* in the *Aeneid* see, e.g., Tissol (1992); Geymonat (1993); Wills (1998); Konstan (2000); Nappa (2004); Cairns (2005); Nelis (2005); Acosta-Hughes (2008); Reed (2008); Fratantuono and McOskey (2010). O'Hara (2001) treats mostly of other Callimachean texts, but includes some references to the *Aetia*.

reading it in the light of what is now understood about Callimachus' narrative of Molercus' reception of Heracles, its place within the *Aetia*, its relationship to the parallel narrative of Hecale's reception of Theseus in the *Hecale*, and the ideological implications of these aetiological myths for both Hellenistic and Augustan Roman readers.

In the paragraphs above, discussion of hosts receiving guests (narratives of guest-reception) has overlapped with discussion of poets receiving their predecessors (narratives of literary reception). This may not be an accident of the English language. The use of the terms 'host' and 'guest' by some literary theorists to denote alluding/target and received/source texts, respectively,<sup>21</sup> invites consideration of the possibility that the reception-narratives of Callimachus and/or Virgil trope their authors' literary reception of their precursors.<sup>22</sup> K. Gutzwiller, reviewing the etymological tradition that saw Hecale's name derived from the Greek καλεῖν ('to call', i.e. 'invite') and καλή ('hut'), ventures that 'Hecale's unassuming hospitality is thus encoded in her name and in the poem's title to reinforce the metapoetic message ... [T]he thin style embodied in the *Hecale* welcomes all – characters of all social levels and language from diverse sources.'<sup>23</sup> Propertius, at any rate, seems to have entertained this way of reading, since his own reception of *Aeneid* 8 in elegy 4.9 concludes by inviting the epic Hercules into his elegiac poetry-book (4.9.72 *uelis libro dexter inesse meo*).<sup>24</sup> However, while Hecale and Propertius appear to extend a warm welcome to the visitors in their texts, the polysemy of the terms *xenos* and

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<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Miller (1977); in discussion of Roman poetry, see Harrison (2007) 11-18, at 16: 'In what follows I will sometimes use the metaphor of hospitality to describe this relationship: in this sense the dominating genre of the text is the 'host' which entertains the subordinate genre as a 'guest'. The 'guest' genre can be higher or lower than the 'host' in the conventional generic hierarchy (e.g. tragic elements in lyric or epigrammatic elements in epic), but the 'host' in all cases retains its dominant and determining role, though the 'guest' enriches and enlarges its 'host' genre for now and for the future.'

<sup>22</sup> Conte (1986) 100-129 and Harrison (2007) 59-74 read Gallus in *Ecl.* 10 as the elegiac 'guest' of his pastoral 'host'. Pucci (1998) 83-108 surveys a range of ancient metaphors for literary allusion, including grafting onto a 'host tree'. On ancient literary tropes for allusion, see further Hinds (1998) 1-16.

<sup>23</sup> Gutzwiller (2012) 242-3, at 243.

<sup>24</sup> See Warden (1982) esp. 241-2; DeBrohun (2003) 182-3 amid wider discussion of the metanarrative of this poem; Hutchinson (2006) 218; Fedeli (2015) 1196-7.

*hospes* ('host', 'guest', 'stranger', *inter alia*),<sup>25</sup> and the function of hospitality scenes as a barometer of civilized values, require that hospitality as a metaphor cannot automatically be taken to imply a benign narrative of reception, literary or otherwise.<sup>26</sup> In the essay that gives this article its epigraph, J. Hillis Miller unpacks the semantics of terms of hospitality to reveal the more ambivalent and deconstructive potential of literary and scholarly reception. If Callimachus' neo-Homeric narratives of *xenia* cater to a Ptolemaic agenda in anything like the ways suggested above, then their relocation to the Roman context by Virgil is to be seen not only as an aspect of Rome's Hellenization in the literary sphere, but also of its aggressive disruption and uprooting of Hellenistic cultural narratives.<sup>27</sup>

### First Course: *Aeneid* 8 and the *Victoria Berenices*

When E.V. George published his *Aeneid VIII and the Aetia of Callimachus* in 1974, no 'Lille Papyrus' had yet revealed Molorcus' entertainment of Heracles as a narrative insert within Callimachus' celebration of Berenice II's Nemean victory at the opening of *Aetia* 3.<sup>28</sup> Nor had the fragment preserving an old peasant's invention of the mousetrap (fr. 54c Harder) been identified as a narrative insert within the Molorcus-Heracles episode.<sup>29</sup> Since the structural complexity of Virgil's Callimachean model, as a 'Chinese box' of narratives, has come to light only latterly, it was perhaps inevitable that the success of George's research would be correspondingly modest.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, working from Pfeiffer's landmark edition of Callimachus (1949-53), George correctly understood Aeneas' dream-interview with

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<sup>25</sup> *LSJ*, *OLD* s.v. See in general Felber, Wiesehöfer, and Wagner-Hasel (2006). The Twelve Tables use the term *hostis* in lieu of *hospes* (Tabula 2.2, 3.7) and later authors exploit their (pseudo-)etymological connection (cf., e.g., Plaut. *Bacch.* 253; Sall. *Cat.* 61.8; Cic. *Phil.* 12.27; Livy 1.58.7, 23.33.7; Ov. *Fast.* 2.787).

<sup>26</sup> See Wiltshire (1989) 83: 'Modern hospitality is typically a transaction among friends. Ancient hospitality is a transaction among strangers. Modern hospitality reinforces our familiarities. Ancient hospitality alters us by exposing us to outsiders.' For a Virgilian case-study of the moral ambivalence of *hospitium*, see Gibson (1999) on Dido and Aeneas. On the 'humanizing force' of *hospitium* in Livy's account of early Rome, see Bolchazy (1977).

<sup>27</sup> Compare Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) on Ovid's reception of the *Hecale*.

<sup>28</sup> Parsons (1977).

<sup>29</sup> Livrea (1979).

<sup>30</sup> George (1974) generally underwhelmed reviewers: see Horsfall (1975); Gransden (1976b); McKay (1977).



Tiber and waking interlocution with Evander (*Aen.* 8.36-369) as a reconfiguration of the *Aetia* in narrative epic. Within this framework, the successive arrivals, receptions, and legacies of Saturn, Evander, Hercules, and Aeneas were found to correspond to a series of hospitality narratives in the *Aetia*, including that of Molorcus and Heracles. George further compared the battle with the mice, an unplaced fragment though it then was, to Hercules' battle with Cacus,<sup>31</sup> and posited a relationship also with the hospitality narrative of the *Hecale*.<sup>32</sup> Intervening discoveries have confirmed that there is much to commend in George's thesis, and it is now clear that Evander's entertainment of Aeneas, with its inset Hercules-Cacus epyllion, corresponds – in ways more precise than George could have realised – to Molorcus' entertainment of Heracles and its inset battle with the mice. It will be useful first to review and supplement the parallels between these narratives before going on to consider wider areas of traction between the Virgilian and Callimachean texts.<sup>33</sup>

It is the theme of rustic hospitality that most obviously sets Aeneas and Evander into relation with Heracles and Molorcus. Both *Aeneid* 8 and the fragments and testimonia of *Aetia* 3 feature hospitality (fr. 54c.14, 54i.19, 60c.1 Harder *hospes*; cf. *Aen.* 8.123, 188, 364, 463), a humble abode (54c.3 στέγος; cf. *Aen.* 8.366-7 *angusti subter fastigia tecti* | *ingentem Aenean duxit*, 'beneath the roof of his narrow hut he led the huge Aeneas'; 455 *ex humili tecto*), and poverty (fr. 54c.25, 54d.6, 54g.4; cf. *Aen.* 8.359-60, 364-5).<sup>34</sup> Papyrus finds may not hitherto have glimpsed the details of the repast afforded to Heracles, though Probus' note on the 'groves of Molorcus' at *Geo.* 3.19 (*lucosque Molorchi*), which crucially ascribes the story to the *Aetia*, indicates that the host was liberal beyond his means (60c.3-4 Harder *qui cum immolaturus esset unicum arietem, quem habebat, ut Herculem liberalius acciperet*, 'when he was on the point of sacrificing the one goat he possessed, so that he might welcome Heracles the more generously'). Molorcus' explanation of how the lion has diminished his means as a host (fr. 54b Harder), and his prayer for its death (21-2 αἰ νολέων ἀπόλ[οιτο. εἰ ... | καὶ θεὸς ἡ καίνε[ ... 'may the terrible lion perish ... and the goddess who killed ...'), finds a parallel in Evander's account of Mezentius'

<sup>31</sup> George (1974) 62-3.

<sup>32</sup> Contrary to Tueller (2000) 371 n.24, this intertextuality was anticipated by George (1974) 108 n.3, 111, 121.

<sup>33</sup> This paragraph and the following two amplify and supplement Tueller (2000) 371-5.

<sup>34</sup> On Molorcus' poverty, see Harder (2012b) 493.

terrorization of the region (481-8, 569-71) and his prayer for the tyrant's demise (483-4 *quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni | effera? di capiti ipsius generique reseruent*, 'Why should I recall the despot's unspeakable murders, why his savage deeds? May the gods reserve them for his head and his people'). These parallels are inevitably fragmentary in nature, but they are sufficient to show that the framing narrative of *Aeneid* 8 (Aeneas' sojourn with Evander) corresponds to the primary inset narrative of the *Victoria Berenices* (Heracles' sojourn with Molorcus). One implication of this relationship might see Aeneas' reception by Evander as the prelude to a Herculean victory of his own. That script, of course, is already heavily implied in *Aeneid* 8, but its Callimachean intertextuality additionally rewrites the Herculean lineage of the Ptolemies as an Augustan typology.<sup>35</sup>

The coordination of the Callimachean and Virgilian frameworks extends also to the inset narrative of *Aeneid* 8. Evander's account of Hercules' victory over Cacus, which parallels the framing narrative of Aeneas' defeat of his opponents and prefigures Augustus' victory at Actium, matches structurally the inset narrative of the *Victoria Berenices*, in which Molorcus' defeat of the mice (fr. 54c Harder) parallels the framing narrative of Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion, which in turn prefigures Berenice's victory at the Nemean Games.<sup>36</sup> Virgil's Salian hymn telegraphs this connection by celebrating, among Hercules' other labours, his defeat of 'the huge lion beneath Nemea's rock' (295 *uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem*). The same Herculean labour is signalled also when Evander welcomes Aeneas to a couch strewn with 'the hide of a shaggy lion' (177 *uillosi pelle leonis*) and later sends him off on a horse 'which a lion's tawny hide covers entire, flashing with golden claws' (552-3 *quem fulua leonis | pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis*).<sup>37</sup> It is not unlikely, then, that Hercules' defeat of Cacus should elaborate on references to Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion in *Aetia* 3. If Callimachus housed the Nemean lion in a cave, as the testimonia have it (Nigid. Fig. fr. 93 *spelunca*; Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.1 σπήλαιον; cf. the mountain-setting of fr. 56 Harder), Virgil may have exploited this parallel with the

<sup>35</sup> For the descent of Alexander and the Ptolemies from Heracles, see e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 17.16-27, with Griffiths (1979) 71-82.

<sup>36</sup> In Callimachus the parallel is supported by the leonine attributes of the mice: see Livrea (1979) 39-40; D'Alessio (1996) 455 n.18.

<sup>37</sup> References to Juno's hatred of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.60, 288, 292) are also pertinent in respect of the parallel with Hercules that is here coming into view (cf. fr. 55 Harder and 60c [= Probus in *Geo.* 3.19] *odio Iunonis*).

Cacus legend as he inherited it (*Aen.* 8.193, 224, 234, 304 *spelunca*; cf. Livy 1.7.5-7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39.2-4). The rocky overhang that is all that remains of this cave when Aeneas visits (190-193 *suspensam hanc aspice rupem ... hic spelunca fuit*) anticipates the lair of the Nemean lion as described by the Salian priests (295 *uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem*).<sup>38</sup> Immurement in this cave is another feature common to *Aeneid* 8 and surviving accounts of Heracles' victorious strategy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39.4 and Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.1). Such a parallel with the Nemean beast (fr. 54b.21 Harder αἰ νολέων, fr. 54e.1 Harder τέρα[ς]) would help to explain why Virgil dehumanizes the Cacus who in Livy is a local shepherd (1.7.5 *pastor accola eius loci*) and in Dionysius merely a robber (1.39.2 ληστής τις ἐπιχώριος): suggestively, the description of Cacus' corpse (267 *uultum uillosaque saetis | pectora semiferi*, 'the half-beast's face and thorax, shaggy with bristles') recalls the Herculean lion-skin on which Aeneas and Evander sit (177 *uillosi pelle leonis*: see above) by means of an adjective Virgil uses nowhere else.<sup>39</sup>

The defeat of this monster by strangulation is a further detail in Virgil's narrative that is duplicated in the Heracles-Molorcus testimonia but not in the Hercules-Cacus tradition: *Aen.* 8.260 *corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens* ('he seizes him, wrapping him into a lock-hold, and strangles him in his grip') recalls Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.1 περιθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα τῷτραχήλῳ κατέσχευ ὄγχων ('setting his arm around its throat he gripped it and strangled'), with the transliterated form of ὄγχω occurring only here in Virgil and in the physical rather psychological sense it generally has in Latin.<sup>40</sup> Strangulation is also the tactic deployed by a distinctly unCallimachean Heracles to finish off the Nemean lion in the pseudo-Theocritean *Heracles Leontophonos* ([Theoc.] 25.266-7 ἦγχον δ' ἐγκρατέως στιβαρὸς σὺν χεῖρας ἐρείσας | ἐξόπιθεν, 'I strangled him tightly, pressing with my strong hands from behind').<sup>41</sup> Since this poem is thought to borrow much of its lexis from the

<sup>38</sup> Fordyce (1977) 227 ad 8.190, glossing *suspensam* as an architectural term for 'vaulted', translates 'cavern-roof'. Conington and Nettleship (1875) 109 ad 8.295 gloss *sub rupe* as 'in antro'.

<sup>39</sup> See Tueller (2000) 373-4.

<sup>40</sup> For this observation, see Tueller (2000) 374-5 with Eden (1975) 91 on *angit*; see also Harder (2012b) 472.

<sup>41</sup> [Theoc.] *Id.* 25 is conversant with both *Od.* 14 and *Aetia* 3: for the former, see Gutwiller (1981) 31-2, 84 n.8; for the latter, see Gow (1965) 440; Parsons (1977) 44; Henrichs (1977); Conti Bizzarro (1979); Harder (2012b) 492-3. Readers of *Aen.* 8 may find that they bump into this poem more than once (see n.62 below): La Cerda

*Victoria Berenices*, but pointedly to depart from Callimachus in its overblown account of Heracles' labour,<sup>42</sup> we cannot be certain that it is witness to details derived by Virgil from the *Victoria Berenices*. In this case, however, it is no less relevant that we find Virgil looking instead to a text that parodies Callimachus precisely to fill out a hyper-epic passage of *Aeneid* 8 for which there could be no parallel in the *Victoria Berenices*. It is, in fact, most likely that Callimachus' account (or Heracles' report) of the heroics against the Nemean lion was far more concise than the surrogate narrative of Molercus' antiheroics against the mice: the *Abbruchsformel* preserved in fr. 54h Harder switches to more scholarly interest in the types of garland awarded at the Nemean and Isthmian games (fr. 54i Harder).<sup>43</sup> In Virgil's narrative, by contrast, the violence downsized by Callimachus is once more re-inflated to epic proportions.

Virgil's strategy of epic inflation is evident also in the comparison to be made between the manufacture of Aeneas' cosmic shield in *Aeneid* 8 and the diminutive *hoplopoeia* of Molercus' mousetrap in Callimachus. Both episodes are nocturnal interludes within their respective hospitality sequences (*Aen.* 8.370-453; fr. 54c.16-18, 32-3 Harder). Again to be remarked, however, is the difference in scale: just as the Hercules-Cacus epyllion reinflates Molercus' battle with the mice to Herculean proportions, so Venus' commissioning of *arma* from Vulcan and his supervision of the Cyclopean forge looks from the *Victoria Berenices* to *Iliad* 18, where Thetis enlists Hephaestus' collaboration in providing armour for Achilles. As has been recognised, a further Callimachean text already mediates Virgil's Homeric model: in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* (hy. 3) the young goddess enlists the help of Zeus and the Cyclopes to make her bow and arrows.<sup>44</sup> In each of these texts the manufacture of a less important article is interrupted for the new commission (twenty serving-trolleys

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(1642) 199 ad *Aen.* 8.306 (where Aeneas' tour of Pallanteum commences) compares the opening of the poem's third section (v. 153), perhaps pointing to an underlying model (I thank F. Mac Góráin for this reference). Be that as it may, *Heracles Leontophonos* lays less emphasis than Callimachus and Virgil on the theme of rustic hospitality and does not exploit the aetiological aspect of Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion: see Hunter (1998) 115-6.

<sup>42</sup> Parsons (1970) 44: the poet of the *Heracles Leontophonos* 'ostentatiously kept his distance, in plot and manner ... That is, we may look to 'Theocritus' for verbal hints; in everything else, he is a likely guide to what Callimachus did not do.'

<sup>43</sup> An interest perhaps reflected in the garlands associated with Hercules in *Aen.* 8 (274, 276-7, 286; but cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.40.1 for the same detail).

<sup>44</sup> The fullest treatment is now McCarter (2012). The same model lies behind the Cyclopean activity at *Geo.* 4.170-75: see Farrell (1991) 243-4. For the epic deflation at Call. hy. 3.50, see Bornmann (1968) 29.

for Achilles' shield; a horse-trough for Artemis' hunting-gear; a thunderbolt for Aeneas' *arma*),<sup>45</sup> but it is the equivalent moment of 'unfinished business' in Molorcus' battle with the mice that gives the closest parallel for Vulcan's interruption of the Cyclopes in *Aeneid* 8 (fr. 54c.15-16 Harder [suppl. Maas] ὣς ἐνέπων τῷ μὲν ἔργον, ὃ οἱ μετὰ [χερ]σὶν ἔκειτο, | ᾧ ψεν, [ἐ]πεὶ σμίνθοις κ[ρ]υπτὸν ἔτευχε δόλον· 'So saying, he threw away the work which lay in his hands, when he set about preparing a hidden trap for the mice'; *Aen.* 8.439-40 'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores, | Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc aduertite mentem', 'Remove everything', he said, 'and put away the tasks you have started, Cyclopes of Etna, and turn your attention hither'). In this motif, too, Virgil's *hoplopoeia* advances the reconfiguration of the *Victoria Berenices* in the epic mode. While in Callimachus Berenice's victory is coordinate with the humble scene of Molorcus' domestic ingenuity, in the *Aeneid* Augustus' victory demands a shield of Homeric proportions.

The clash of Hercules and Cacus, then, set within Aeneas' visit to Pallanteum, translates the inset tales of the *Victoria Berenices* to the site of Rome with a considerable degree of epic inflation in the process. The vacillation of Virgil's narrative between Callimachus and Homer is relevant to three related details in the *Victoria Berenices* that might now be connected to *Aeneid* 8 by a reader alert to the basic parallelism. These are: Heracles' return and second meal with Molorcus; the role of Molorcus' son; Molorcus' sacrifice depending on Heracles' success. On the way back to Argos after slaying the Nemean lion, Heracles enjoys a second overnight stop with Molorcus during which he is able to allay his hunger (fr. 54i.17-18 Harder θυμὸν ἄρε[σ]σάμενος, | νύκτα μὲν αὐτόθι μίμνεν, ἀπέστιχε δ' Ἄργος ἑῷος· 'satisfying his appetite, he stayed the night there, and marched away to Argos at dawn'). Following in the footsteps of Hercules, Aeneas also gets to enjoy a banquet in commemoration of the hero's defeat of Cacus (*Aen.* 8.180-3, 283-4), but he does so *before* setting out the next morning for war (455-65). In comparison with Heracles' reward towards the end of the Callimachean narrative, Aeneas' satisfaction of his hunger (184 *exempta fames et amor compressus edendi*) will appear somewhat premature, his mettle not yet having been tested by any comparable Herculean labour.

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<sup>45</sup> For this motif of 'unfinished business', see Casali (2006) 197-200. Cf. *Od.* 14.23-34, where Eumaeus drops the sandals he was making upon Odysseus' approach.

This reorganisation of the sequence of the Callimachean narrative draws attention, secondly, to Aeneas' as yet unfulfilled responsibilities to Evander, especially in respect of the latter's son (cf. *Aen.* 8.514-5 *spes et solacia nostri, | Pallanta adiungam*, 'Pallas, my hope and comfort, I will ally with you').<sup>46</sup> The eventual death of Pallas at the hands of Turnus is the Virgilian counterpart to the tragic demise of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, but Aeneas' failure to return Evander's son alive might also be read in relation to the tradition, preserved in Lactantius Placidus' commentary on Statius, *Theb.* 4.159-60, that a son of Molorcus was killed by the Nemean lion.<sup>47</sup> If Molorcus' paternity was suggested in Callimachus' original,<sup>48</sup> or imported into it, then the death of Pallas reconfigures Callimachean chronology to merge the elegiac model of the *Aetia* with the epic model of the *Iliad*. Contemplating the life or death fates that await his son (*Aen.* 8.574-83), Evander thus reflects a Homeric motif (cf. *Il.* 7.77-86) through Heracles' assessment of his prospects against the Nemean lion, as Callimachus (again on Probus' testimony) seems to have had it: 60c.4-5 Harder *impetrauit ab eo Hercules, ut eum [sc. arietem] seruaret, immolaturus*

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<sup>46</sup> The presence of Pallas (Athena) as possible helper of Heracles at fr. 54h.4 Hdr (so Harder [2012b] 471 and 472-3 ad loc.) would lend further irony to the fate of her namesake in the *Aeneid*. Theseus, likewise, appears to have been assisted by Pallas in the *Hecale*: see Pfeiffer (1949) 243 ad fr. 253.2 Pf. (= fr. 40.2 Hollis, which does not supplement Πάλλας, however) and Hollis (1990) 153 ad fr. 17.

<sup>47</sup> The parallel between the sons of Molorcus and Evander is noted by Nadeau (1989) 99: 'We can see that, although the time sequence is slightly altered, there is a parallel between Heracles killing the Nemean lion and so avenging the death of his humble host's son and Aeneas killing Turnus and so avenging the death of his humble host's son'.

<sup>48</sup> Parsons (1977) 43 considered it 'perfectly plausible' that this detail derives from Callimachus and accordingly suggested ὁ δ' ἄρ' παῖ [δα] ('and the child') as an alternative for ὁ δ' ἄρ' πακ[τ-] ('and the robber') at fr. 54b.20 Harder; cf. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (1983) 112; *contra*, see Massimilla (2010) 255 *metri causa*, and cf. *Aen.* 8.205, Prop. 4.9.8, 13-14 for Cacus' thievery. Locating the mousetrap episode to the Molorcus story, Livrea (1979) 38, followed by Fuhrer (1992) 69 n.249 and D'Alessio (1996) 454 n.16, identified the child at fr. 54c.4 Harder (παίδι νέμουςα μέρος, 'apportioning a share to her child') as Molorcus' son; however, the verb tense used by Lactantius Placidus indicates that tragedy struck *prior* to Heracles' visit (*Hercules ... a Molorcho susceptus hospitio est, cuius filium leo interfecerat*), and Massimilla (2010) 264 points out that the gender of παῖς is indeterminate; for other explanations of παίδι, see Harder (2012b) 440-1; see also *ibid.* 462, 493. Even if the fragments of the *Victoria Berenices* do not confirm Molorcus' paternity, the likelihood that Hecale was bereaved of her son(s) or nurseling(s) suggests that her analogue in the *Aetia* suffered a similar loss: see Hollis (2009) 432 on fr. 48 Hollis and 187-202, esp. 188-9, on fr. 47-9 Hollis.

*uel uictori tamquam Deo uel uicto* ('Heracles requested him to save it [*sc.* his goat] for sacrifice to him either as victor, as if to a god, or as vanquished'); Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.1 ὃν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας σῶς ἐπανεῖλθῃ, Διὶ σωτῆρι θύειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, τότε ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζειν ('if he returned from the beast alive, to sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, but if he was killed, then to make oblation as if to a hero', glimpsed in fr. 54e Harder). These sources suggest that Callimachus' Heracles had instructed Molorcus to presume him dead and sacrifice accordingly if he failed to return.<sup>49</sup> If the hero happily intercepted Molorcus just before he had made sacrifice for his soul (cf. 60c.9-10 Harder *superuenit itaque et Molorcho paranti sacrificium Manibus, ubi et aries immolatus erat*), Aeneas less happily imagines Evander, as yet unaware of the tragedy that has befallen his son, vainly making vows and piling the altars with hopeful offerings (*Aen.* 11.49-50 *et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani | fors et uota facit cumulatque altaria donis*). In this way, the *Aeneid* tragically inverts the outcome of the Callimachean story: whereas Heracles sends to Molorcus the thank-offering of a mule (fr. 54i.19-20 Harder οὐδὲ ξεινοδόκωι λήσασθ' ὑποσχέσις, | πέμψε δέ οἱ τῶ[ν] ῥῆα, τίεν δέ ἐ ὡς ἕνα πηῶν, 'Nor did he forget his promise to his host, but sent him the mule and honoured him as one of his relatives'),<sup>50</sup> Aeneas returns to Evander a broken promise and body (*Aen.* 11.45-6, 53-5 *non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti | discedens dederam ... infelix, nati funus crudele uidebis! | hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphi? | haec mea magna fides?* 'Not these the promises I had given your father Evander about you as I departed ... Unhappy man, you will see the cruel funeral of your son. Is this my return, my awaited triumph? This my great pledge?'). In this way, the framework plot of Aeneas' reception by Evander and subsequent failure to protect his host's son is a rerun, with tragic differences, of Heracles' reception by Molorcus in the first inset narrative of the *Victoria Berenices*. Virgil's fusion of archaic and Hellenistic models thus extends well beyond the immediate

<sup>49</sup> Neatly reconstructed at D'Alessio (1996) 460 n.25. A similar idea may have occurred in the *Hecale* (cf. Plut. *Thes.* 14 [= test. 9 Hollis]).

<sup>50</sup> Parsons (1977) 41 speculates that the mule was intended to replace one with which Molorcus had equipped Heracles. Massimilla (2010) 297 and Harder (2012b) 482 doubt this, though the latter at 492 allows that Molorcus may have provided assistance of some kind. Cf. Nigid. Fig. fr. 93 (*Hercules iussu Eurysthei interfecit cum Molorcho hospite suo, cuius clauam uiribus tributam <tum> principio est adeptus eaque leonem interfecit*) and Lactantius Placidus ad Stat. *Theb.* 4.159-60 (*didicitque ab eo quemadmodum aduersus ferum coiret*).

hospitality framework of *Aeneid* 8 before the poignant Callimachean subplot finally gives way to the tragic Homeric masterplot.

This section has so far explored the parallels, at multiple levels of narrative, between the *Victoria Berenices* and the *Aeneid*. These narrative interpenetrations also extend from the mythical past to the historical present embraced by both texts. The significance to Virgilian encomium of the ‘Lille Papyrus’, which showed the connection between the mythical past and Callimachus’ Ptolemaic present, was established by R.F. Thomas, who demonstrated that the opening of *Georgics* 3 (as well as of other Augustan and post-Augustan centrepiece proems) is informed by the corresponding juncture at the start of the third book of Callimachus’ *Aetia*.<sup>51</sup> Since the *Victoria Berenices* links up with both *Georgics* 3 and, as shown above, *Aeneid* 8, it must be significant that the honorific temple and triumph of Augustus adumbrated at the centre of the *Georgics* recurs in *Aeneid* 8, again *in medio* (*Geo.* 3.16; *Aen.* 8.675), as the centerpiece depiction on Aeneas’ shield of the Battle of Actium and Augustus’ triple triumph.<sup>52</sup> This suggests that the Molercus-Heracles myth intersects not only with the hospitality narrative of *Aeneid* 8 and its ramifications later in the epic, but also with the book’s bilocation between mythical past and Augustan present. In *Aeneid* 8, this bilocation is effected most obviously by the ecphrasis of the future on Aeneas’ shield (*Aen.* 8.626-728), the commissioning and fabrication of which is, as we have seen, embedded in the intertextual nexus with *Aetia* 3 as an epic counterpart to Molercus’ mousetrap. D. Nelis has shown that Apollonius’ ecphrasis of Jason’s cloak (*Argon.* 1.721-67) is the primary Hellenistic model mediating the shield of Achilles to that of Aeneas as an icon of cosmic significance.<sup>53</sup> If there is room in this analysis also for the *Victoria Berenices*, it might be as a template for the concentric arrangement of mythical and historical time. Quite how Callimachus managed the transition from contemporary frame to aetiological myth is unclear from the surviving fragments of *Aetia* 3,<sup>54</sup> but the connections between the *Victoria Berenices* and the ecphrastic centerpiece of *Georgics* 3 have tempted some to speculate that the narrative transition in Callimachus was also effected via an

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<sup>51</sup> Thomas (1983).

<sup>52</sup> See Nelis (2004) esp. 92-3.

<sup>53</sup> Nelis (2001) 345-59. For dual Callimachean (*Hec.* fr. 18 Hollis) and Apollonian (*Argon.* 4.1062-7) allusion at the scene-break of *Aen.* 8.407-15, see Skempis (2010) 250 n.128.

<sup>54</sup> See Harder (2012b) 385-6 on the gap in the papyrus.



ecphrasis, perhaps even describing the figural *peplos* of a victory statue for Berenice.<sup>55</sup> fr. 54.13-16 Harder all but certainly refers to weaving (though the context is less clear), and interlinear scholia preserve a possible reference to a statue in what may have been the transitional section (60f.8 Harder).<sup>56</sup> Whatever mechanism of insertion was exploited by Callimachus to connect Berenice's victory to the mythological insert, it is likely that it was a stimulus behind the structure of *Georgics* 3 as well as of other ecphrastic showpieces, perhaps especially Catullus 64, where the marriage of Peleus and Thetis frames the description of the bridal couch on which the narrative of Theseus and Ariadne is embroidered.<sup>57</sup> The Callimachean mechanism of transition to the myth need not have been managed via the ecphrasis of a *peplos* for Virgil to have taken his cue from it as well as from Apollonius' description of Jason's cloak, but it is notable that the metal shield is referred to as a *textum* – that is, as something woven – precisely at the moment of its impossible ecphrasis (625 *clipei non enarrabile textum*).<sup>58</sup>

As the inset narratives in Callimachus reflect their frames, so in *Aeneid* 8 a nexus of links between the embedding and embedded narratives connects the monster slain by Hercules (259 *incendia uana uomentem*, 'spewing futile fire'; cf. 199, 252-3) with the monstrous arms now admired by Aeneas (620 *galeam flammasque uomentem*, 'the helmet spewing flames') and the depiction of Augustus thereon (680-

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<sup>55</sup> Thomas (1983) 105-12. See now Clayman (2014) 147. Fuhrer (1992) 66 with n.230, Thomson (1997) 390-1 and Knox (2007) 166 admit the possibility; Hutchinson (1988) 46 n.41 and 302 is more doubtful.

<sup>56</sup> On the former, see Harder (2012b) 410-13; on the latter, see Krevans (1986) and Harder (2012b) 496.

<sup>57</sup> The shared Callimachean source might thus be traced in the similarity of the phrases which transition (with tantalising stichometric proximity) from ecphrasis to frame in Catullus 64 (267-8 *quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes | expleta est*, 'after the Thessalian youth were sated by their avid inspection of these scenes'), from epyllion to action in *Aeneid* 8 (265-8 *nequeunt expleri corda tuendo | terribilis oculos ... ex illo celebratus honos*, 'and they could not have their hearts' fill of gazing at his frightful eyes ... Ever since then this rite has been celebrated'), and from ecphrasis to frame as Aeneas surveys his armour (618 *expleri nequit*); cf. Dido looking at embroidered gifts at *Aen.* 1.713 *expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo*, where Williams (1972) 211 ad loc. compares Cat. 64.91-3. Thomas (1983) 110 with n.104 postulates that *expleri* (*Aen.* 8.618) and *miratur* (619, 730) allude to Cat. 64.51 and 268 under the possible influence of the *Victoria Berenices*.

<sup>58</sup> See Nelis (2001) 355.

1 *cui tempora flammas | laeta uomunt*, ‘his brow spews auspicious flames’).<sup>59</sup> Just as the ecphrasis at the centre of the *Georgics* looked to the *Victoria Berenices* at the centre of Callimachus’ *Aetia* to celebrate the victory of Octavian, so *Aeneid* 8 looks again to the *Victoria Berenices* to locate the victory of Augustus in the middle of the shield ecphrasis. In Virgil’s narrative epic, the political allegory encapsulated in the *Victoria Berenices* spills beyond the borders of Evander’s epyllion and into the fabric of the text, not only in the death of Evander’s son, but also in the ecphrasis of Aeneas’ shield.

At the end of *Aeneid* 8, having inspected the images on the shield, Aeneas symbolically ‘hoists onto his shoulder the fame and fortunes of his descendants’ (731 *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum*). P. Hardie has suggested that Aeneas’ act of taking the cosmic icon of the shield onto his shoulders departs from the Iliadic model so that the hero comes to resemble Hercules temporarily deputising for Atlas in taking on the weight of the world.<sup>60</sup> This Herculean aspect in Aeneas’ gesture may recommend, for one last time in this book, his comparison with Callimachus’ Heracles. Hardie’s edition of the *Aetia* collocates to the end of the *Victoria Berenices* a much debated pair of fragments, one of which mentions ‘the skin which became a covering for a man, his defence against snow and missiles’ (fr. 60a Harder τὸ δὲ σκύλος ἀνδρὶ καλύπτει | γινόμενον, νιφετοῦ καὶ βελέων ἔρυμα), the other of which glimpses someone ‘lifting the animal’s skin onto his shoulder’ (fr. 60b Harder θηρὸς ἄεργάζων δέρμα κατωμάδιον).<sup>61</sup> Hardie’s interpretation would certainly be

<sup>59</sup> For a ‘pessimistic’ reading of this connection, see Putnam (1988) 173, concluding that ‘[p]oetic language ... by the very power of its repetitiousness, not only subverts idealism but offers itself as exemplification of history’s reiterative tendencies.’

<sup>60</sup> Hardie (1986) 369-75. Intermediary here is Jason’s shouldering of his cosmic cloak ἄμφ’ ὤμοισι (*Argon.* 1.721): see Nelis (2001) 355. Allusion to the Hesiodic *Scutum* reinforces the parallel between Aeneas and Heracles: see Faber (2000).

<sup>61</sup> See Hardie (2012b) 488-91, following Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (1983) 109-110, 117 and D’Alessio (1996) 466-9. So too Fuhrer (1992) 58, but with 73 n.267 for the possibility that their reference is retrospective. Pfeiffer (1949) 445 earlier doubted the attribution of these fragments (his fr. 597 and 677) to the story of Heracles and Molercus, as proposed by Schneider and Wilamowitz. His skepticism is rejected by Henrichs (1977) 70-73, Massimilla (2010) 537-9 and Hardie (2012b) 488-9; Massimilla argues that his fr. 264 (= fr. 60b Harder) belongs somewhere towards the end of the entire section (fr. 143-56 Massimilla), either after Heracles’ victory (fr. 151 Massimilla = fr. 54e Harder) or just before his return to Molercus (fr. 154 Massimilla = fr. 54h Harder). However, Massimilla (2010) 550-53 is rather more

significant here if Heracles is indeed the subject of the verb in fr. 60b as Harder surmises. The testimonia associate the act of shouldering the lionskin with Heracles in the context of the Molercus episode (Ps.-Apollod. 2.5.1 θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐκόμιζεν), and their specific recognition that it serves as, precisely, Heracles' *shield* (Nigid. Fig. fr. 93 *itaque postea claua pro gladio, pelle pro scuto in reliquo tempore uti instituit*) would explain the relevance of this intertext for the Herculean Aeneas as he acquires his cosmic *arma* at the end of *Aeneid* 8.

The corresponding section of the Callimachean narrative will have yet further significance for Aeneas if fr. 60a Harder (above) is correctly located adjacent: in this description of the skin's/shield's defensive properties, Callimachus' own source-text is Aphrodite's protection of Aeneas himself in the *Iliad* (Il. 5.315-16 πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμα κάλυψεν | ἔρκος ἔμεν βελέων, 'and before him she spread a fold of her bright dress as a defence against missiles'). Indeed, the aptness of such a 'window allusion' by Virgil might now be taken to support the attribution of fr. 60a and 60b Harder jointly to the end of the *Victoria Berenices*. In this way, Virgil connects the end of *Aeneid* 8, where the Herculean Aeneas acquires the shield commissioned for him by Venus, with Callimachus' Homeric intertexts at the end of the *Victoria Berenices*, where Heracles' lionskin is associated with the protection given to Aeneas by his mother in the *Iliad*.<sup>62</sup> It might here be said that Virgil's Herculean Aeneas recognises his Iliadic self in Callimachus' Heracles. If Virgil's reading of Callimachus is indeed as close as these connections suggest, it may be that *attollens umero* in line 731 recognises Callimachus' κατωμάδιον as a Homeric hapax at line 431 of *Iliad* 23, a stichometric coincidence of 1% probability,<sup>63</sup> and a more

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agnostic than Harder (2012b) 488-90 about the attribution of his fr. 274 (= fr. 60a Harder) to the Heracles-Molercus episode.

<sup>62</sup> Also in its final lines, [Theoc.] 25 (see n.41 above) may once more follow the *Victoria Berenices* in making Heracles echo the same passage of Homer in his description of how he flayed and donned the Nemean lionskin: see Gow (1965) 473 ad 25.279.

<sup>63</sup> Perhaps less probably, the calculation requires that Virgil's texts of *Aeneid* 8 and *Iliad* 23 were identical to ours. See Eden (1975) 29-30 ad *Aen.* 8.46 *hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*, omitted by several MSS (but possibly known to Tib. 2.5.56 *hic magnae iam locus urbis erit*: see Bucheit [1965] 110-14). Aesch. *Tim.* 149 quotes *Iliad* 23.77-92 with two additional lines and seems not to know v. 93 (also athetized by Aristarchus); Aristarchus and/or Aristophanes athetized a further six lines in *Iliad* 23 prior to v. 431, and Aristarchus substituted a single line for 332-3; Pap. Hibeh 22 includes five lines not elsewhere transmitted.

involved version of the phenomenon witnessed in the famous ‘coincidence’ of the Euphrates six lines from the end of Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* (hy. 2.108 Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος), *Georgics* 1 and 4, and again here in *Aeneid* 8.<sup>64</sup>

## Second Course: *Aeneid* 8 and the *Hecale*

With structural and thematic elements similar to those of the *Victoria Berenices*, the *Hecale* will necessarily exhibit comparable parallels with the *Aeneid*, with which in addition it shares the hexameter. The *Hecale* enjoyed considerable popularity at Rome,<sup>65</sup> and its influence on *Aeneid* 8, though difficult to pinpoint on the basis of what survives, is not difficult to sense.<sup>66</sup> As in the *Victoria Berenices*, so in the *Hecale* the framing story (Theseus’ defeat of the Marathonian bull) gives precedence to an inset narrative of rustic *xenia* (Hecale’s reception of Theseus: fr. 27-39 Hollis). How explicitly the *Hecale* was then related to the framework of Callimachus’ present is unclear, but the text’s enclosure of Attidographic lore locates in autochthonous myth a powerful aetiology for Athenian *xenia* as the civilized antipode to monstrous villainy.<sup>67</sup> To the extent that this narrative may have resonated with, for example, Athens’ diplomatic relations with Alexandria against Macedon, the *Hecale* no less than the *Victoria Berenices* and *Aeneid* 8 will, in its own

<sup>64</sup> See Scodel and Thomas (1984); Jenkyns (1993). For the accumulating bibliography on ‘stichometric allusion’, see Lowe (2013) 443-4 nn. 1-3 and (for near misses and their implications in textual criticism) n.5 and (2014) 862 n.2.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., Ov. *Met.* 8.611-724: Hollis (1970) 106-7, 115-5, 119-120, 127; Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 67-9; *Fast.* 3.661-74: Harrison (1993). Petr. *Sat.* 134-8: Rosenmeyer (1991) 404-7 (and 408-13 for parallel connections with the *Victoria Berenices*); Connors (1998) 44-7; Rimmel (2002) 161-2.

<sup>66</sup> See Hollis (1990) 350: ‘No particular echoes of the *Hecale* can be noted, but the whole has an unmistakable Hellenistic air.’

<sup>67</sup> On the ‘political character’ of the *Atthis* chronicles, see Jacoby (1949) 71-9, at 78 for the view that Philochorus [see n.13 above] ‘certainly was deeply convinced that a conservative and pious state would be better able to preserve her independence in the new world of great empires’. Even those who would nuance Jacoby’s view of the politics of the Attidographers do not exclude the ideological potential of their texts: see Harding (2007) 4-5, on Jacoby, and 3: ‘In this way Athenians could understand who they were, where they had come from, why they worshipped the gods they worshipped or had the institutions they had, and, particularly, could justify their possession of the territory they lived on.’ On the politics of Attidography in the *Hecale*, see also Gildenhard and Zissos (2004) 49-52.

way, have configured the present as the future of the past.<sup>68</sup> A closer look at the surviving points of contact between the *Hecale* and *Aeneid* 8 will therefore point the way to Virgil's reconfiguration of Callimachean myth in the Augustan context.

The scraps of Callimachus' description of *Hecale*'s humble entertainment of Theseus (fr. 27-39 Hollis) preserve a sequence that is at least in general terms comparable to Evander's reception of Aeneas.<sup>69</sup> Firmer links can be made with the snippets of their after-dinner conversation. Apparently analeptic in content, this comprised Theseus' précis of his background (fr. 40 Hollis) and Hecale's extended account of the vicissitudes of her life (fr. 40-62 Hollis). Near the beginning of her speech, she harks back to her more prosperous youth (fr. 41 Hollis) and remembers a man from Aphidnae to whom she perhaps now compares Theseus (fr. 42.2-6 Hollis):

τὸν δ' ἄπ' Ἀφιδνάων ἵπποι φέρον  
εἶ κελον, οἳ τ' εἶεν Διὸς υἱέες  
μέμνημαι καλὴν μὲν αἰ  
ἄλ[λ]ικα χρυσεῖησιν. ἔργον μὲν ἐνετῆισιν,  
ἔργον ἀ[ρ]α χυάω[ν] . .].'<sup>70</sup>...

But his horses brought from Aphidnae like ... and such as might be the sons of Zeus ... I remember the beautiful ... cloak fastened with golden brooches, a work of spiders ...

The identity of the man from Aphidnae is not clear, but Pfeiffer's suggestion that he is Theseus' father Aegeus is plausible, as Hollis notes, given the tendency in epic for

<sup>68</sup> See text to n.12 above. On this temporal strategy in Hellenistic literature, see Harder (2003).

<sup>69</sup> With *Aen.* 8.176 *gramineoque uiros locat ipse sedili* ('he [Evander] accommodates the men on a grassy seat', cf. 177-8) and 367-8 *ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit | effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae* ('he led mighty Aeneas and accommodated him on a bed of strewn leaves and the hide of a Libyan bear'), compare *Hec.* fr. 29 Hollis τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἀσκήντην κάθισεν ('she [Hecale] seated Theseus on a couch') and 30 αὐτόθεν ἐξ εὐνῆς ὀλίγον ῥάκος αἰθύξασα ('having snatched a small rag from her bed there'). With *Aen.* 8.180-1 *onerantque canistris | dona laboratae Cereris* ('they pile up the gifts of hard-worked Ceres in baskets'), compare *Hec.* fr. 35 Hollis ἐκ δ' ἄρτους σιτύηθεν ἄλις κατέθηκεν ἐλοῦσα | οἶους βωνίτησις ἐνικρύπτουσι γυναικες ('and taking loaves from the breadbin she set them down in abundance'; cf. *Od.* 3.479-80). *Aen.* 8.454-65 and *Hec.* fr. 64-5 Hollis show the heroes rising early to continue with their missions.

elders to liken visiting princes to their fathers in days gone by.<sup>70</sup> Thus, in *Odyssey* 3 and 4, Nestor and Helen compare Telemachus to Odysseus with identical expressions of amazement (3.123 σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰ σορόωντα, 4.142 σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰ σορόωσαν, 'awe seizes me as I behold you') that recommend the association of fr. 50 Hollis τόδ' ἔχω σέβας (perhaps with Pfeiffer's supplement εἰ σορόωσα) with this section of the *Hecale*. In Virgil's conflation of these Odyssean passages in *Aeneid* 8,<sup>71</sup> Evander 'recognises' Aeneas from his resemblance in voice and appearance to Anchises (8.154-68):

ut te, fortissime Teucrum,	
accipio agnoscoque libens! ut uerba parentis	155
et uocem Anchisae magni uultumque recordor!	
nam memini Hesionae uisentem regna sororis	
Laomedontiaden Priamum Salamina petentem	
protinus Arcadiae gelidos inuisere finis.	
tum mihi prima genas uestibat flore iuuentas,	160
mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum	
Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat	
Anchises. mihi mens iuuenali ardebat amore	
compellare uirum et dextrae coniungere dextram;	
accessiet cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi.	165
ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas	
discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam,	
frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.	

Bravest of Trojans, how gladly I welcome and recognise you! How I recall the words and voice of your father, great Anchises, and his face! For I remember how Priam son of Laomedon, visiting the realm of Hesione his sister on his way to Salamis, went on to visit the chilly borders of Arcadia. At that time youth was clothing my cheeks with their first flower and I marvelled at the Trojan leaders, I marvelled too at him, Laomedon's son. But taller than all went Anchises. My mind burned with youthful love to address the man and clasp him hand in hand. I approached and eagerly led him up to Pheneus' walls. On his departure he gave me a handsome quiver of Lycian arrows and a cloak interwoven with gold, and a pair of golden bits which Pallas now owns.

<sup>70</sup> See Hollis (1990) 181-2.

<sup>71</sup> See Eden (1975) 53; Gransden (1976a) compares *Il.* 3.204-24 (Antenor recalls Odysseus' visit, but without the parental comparison). Knauer (1964) 250 discusses only Nestor's comparison of Telemachus and Odysseus as speakers (*Od.* 3.120-9), but the indices (*ibid.* 403) cross-reference Helen's comparison of their physical appearance (*Od.* 4.141-5). See also Wimmel (1973) 59.

Although Hollis' commentary on the corresponding recognition scene at *Hecale* fr. 42 favours the identification of the Aphidnaean not with Theseus' father but with Hecale's late husband, it twice compares Evander's 'recognition' of Aeneas' likeness to his father, first as an instance of this scenario in epic, and again for an elder's emphatic use of verbs of recollection (4 μέμνημαι; cf. 156-7 *recordor!* | *nam memini*). Further similarities can be noted: Evander's awe (161 *mirabar ... mirabar*) might be compared to Hecale's σέβας if fr. 50 belongs, as Hollis argues, to this context; the ephebic cheeks of his younger self (160 *tum mihi prima genas uestibat flore iuventas*) correspond to those which Hecale recollects of Theseus' lookalike, again accepting the placement of fr. 45 Hollis (ἄρμοι που κόκκινωι ἐπέτρεχεν ὄβρος Ἴουλος | ὄνθει ἐλιχρύσωι ἐναλίκιος, 'over him, too, the soft down was recently beginning to spread, like the helychrysum flower').<sup>72</sup> Traditional though these expressions may be, a further similarity suggests a relationship between the two passages that is more than conventional: the ὄλλιξ recalled by Hecale is a recherché word glossed the *Suda* and the Byzantine etymologica as Thessalian for the *chlamys*,<sup>73</sup> the very garment recalled by Evander in his analogous situation in *Aeneid* 8: his *chlamydemque auro ... intertextam* (167 'cloak interwoven with gold') thus calques the form of Hecale's ὄλ[λ]ικα χρυσεῖησιν ἐεργομ[έν]ην ἐνετῆσιν and conveys the idea of ἔργον ὀλ[λ]α|χνάω|ν insofar as *texere* is, precisely, 'the work of spiders'.<sup>74</sup> The Virgilian phrase is also, of course, suggestively reflexive of the intertextuality here being claimed for it,<sup>75</sup> as is the transmission of the prized object from one generation to the next.

<sup>72</sup> Hollis (1990) 183-4 speculates that fr. 44-5 may have belonged in the papyrus lacuna between fr. 40 and 42.

<sup>73</sup> See Pfeiffer (1949) 244 ad loc.; Hollis (1990) 182 ad loc.

<sup>74</sup> For *texere* as the activity of the *aranea*, cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 348 *ut operam omnem araneorum perdam et texturam improbem*; Cat. 68.48 *tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam*; Cic. *De nat. deor.* 2.123 *ut in araneolis aliae quasi rete texunt*; Prop. 3.6.33 *putris et in uacuo texetur aranea lecto*; Sen. *Epist.* 121.22 *illa aranei textura*; Plin. *Hist. nat.* 1.1 *quo modo conficiatur Coa vestis de araneis qui ex iis texant*; 30.27 *araneorum telae candidae et quae in trabibus parvae texuntur*; Fronto, *Laud. negl.* 2.5 *texendi vero araneas diligentiores esse quam Penelopam ullam vel Andromacham*.

<sup>75</sup> No less recherché than the ὄλλιξ is the adjacent Homeric *hapax legomenon* (Il. 14.180) ἐνετή (some kind of brooch): see Pfeiffer (1949) 244 ad loc.; Gutzwiller (1981) 59 and (2012) 235; Hollis (1990) 182 ad loc.; Skempis (2010) 60. Might *Aen.*

In her autobiography, Hecale seems to have related how she reared two boys (her sons?)<sup>76</sup> who were killed, one perhaps by the villain Cercyon, for whose demise she prays (fr. 48-9 Hollis). Hecale's parenthood may be a further respect in which she is comparable to Molercus, with the difference that her prayer for revenge turns out already to have been fulfilled by Theseus, whose narration of his encounter with Sciron and Cercyon probably formed an inset 'prequel' within the hospitality narrative (fr. 59-62 Hollis). Cercyon and Sciron in the *Hecale* are thus paralleled in the *Aeneid* both by Mezentius and Turnus, the villains Evander wants dead (*Aen.* 8.484, 11.177-81), as well as by Cacus, whose defeat by Hercules prequels Aeneas' later victories. To this broad parallel the surviving fragments of the *Hecale* provide some contours. As Cercyon 'fled Arcadia and settled among us, a bad neighbour' (fr. 49.9-10 Hollis ὃς ῥ' ἔφυγεν μὲν | Ἀρκ[αδίην, ἡμῖν δὲ κακὸς] παρενάσσα[το γείτων]), so Mezentius has fled to Latium (a latter-day Arcadia: 8.492-3), 'trampling on his neighbour's head' (569-70 *finitimo ... huic capiti insultans*). Sciron, too, is an 'inhospitable tyrant' (fr. 59 Hollis τύραννος ὄξενος) who matches Mezentius' *infandas caedes ... facta tyranni | effera* (8.483-4, 'unspeakable murders ... the savage deeds of a tyrant') with his own brand of murder most foul (fr. 59-60 Hollis), a respect in which both are comparable also to Cacus (*Aen.* 8.195-7 *semperque recenti | caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis | ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo*, 'the ground was forever warm with fresh gore and, nailed to the haughty doors, men's faces hung, pale in their dismal decay'; cf. 8.485-8 for Mezentius' equivalent). The similarity of these baddies to Cacus may not be incidental: according to one tradition, Cercyon is a son of Hephaestus (Hygin. *Fab.* 38 *Cercyonem Vulcani filium armis occidit*, '[Theseus] slew Cercyon, the son of Vulcan'), a paternity which Virgil also accords to Cacus (*Aen.* 8.198 *huic monstro Volcanus erat pater*), possibly without precedent.<sup>77</sup> The gory scene outside Cacus' cave in Virgil (8.195-7 above) might thus be compared to his brother's wrestling ground in Callimachus (fr. 62 Hollis ἧχι κονίστραι | ὄξεινοι λύθρωι τε καὶ εἴαρι πεπλήθασι, 'where the inhospitable arena was full of gore and blood').

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8.168 *frenaque bina ... aurea* ('a pair of golden bits') attempt to gloss the mechanism of Callimachus' χρυσεῖησιν... ἐνετῆσιν?

<sup>76</sup> See n.48 above.

<sup>77</sup> Virgil may here be exploiting a local topographical tradition: see Eden (1975) 78.



The death of Hecale's son at the hands of Cercyon lends dramatic tension to the framing story, which began with Aegeus' anxiety that, having no sooner recovered Theseus, he might lose him to the Marathonian bull (*Dieg.* x.18.20-28; fr. 6, 17 Hollis). Aegeus' situation here is analogous to that of his 'future' self in Catullus 64, with the difference that the latter reluctantly agrees to send his long lost son into a more monstrous tauromachy on Crete (64.215-37).<sup>78</sup> Among the interconnections between the *Hecale*, Catullus 64 and *Aeneid* 8, Evander represents another father who fatefully sends his son into battle with a 'monster' (8.470-519, 558-83). The similarity of his farewell speech to that of Catullus' Aegeus may look through the latter to its Callimachean model.<sup>79</sup> In support of this hypothesis, it can be noted that the futile aspiration with which Evander closes his propemptic speech (8.582-3 *grauior neu nuntius auris | uulneret*, 'may no messenger with graver news wound my ears') has been compared to the expression of foreboding that Callimachus' Aegeus may have pronounced at this juncture of the *Hecale* (fr. 122 Hollis ἀπούατος ἄγγελος ἔλθοι, 'an unwelcome messenger may come').<sup>80</sup> Callimachus here glosses a disputed Homeric phrase (*Il.* 18.272, 22.454) with what Hollis pronounces 'the most curious product of Homeric controversy to be found in the *Hecale*': ancient Homerists seem to have disagreed as to whether to read a prepositional phrase ἀπ' οὐατος ('away from the ears') or, as Callimachus seems to recommend, the adjective ἀπούατος ('bad'). Virgil's close calque of the Callimachean version of the expression (nom. adj. + nom. 'messenger' + optative verb) thus seems to be a dutiful nod to both ἀπούατος (*grauior*) and ἀπ' οὐατος (*auris*). If this *zetema* makes the intertext more conspicuous to the scholarly reader, it also exposes the distance between emotive and cerebral reading in Callimachus' appropriation of Homer, and Virgil's appropriation of Callimachus.

As with Heracles' defeat of the Nemean lion in the *Victoria Berenices*, Theseus' bullfight in the *Hecale* was probably mentioned en passant in deference to

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<sup>78</sup> On Cat. 64 and the *Hecale*, see Hollis (1990) 151-2 with further bibliography; see also Weber (1983); Skinner (1994); Hunter (2006) 98-9; Knox (2007) 166-7; Gaisser (2009) 159-60. Weber (1973) 65 on the Hercules-Cacus epyllion compares the *Hecale* and Cat. 64 as structural models and examples of 'Reduktion'.

<sup>79</sup> The similarity of (Catullus') Aegeus and Evander is noted by Quinn (1970) 329 ad Cat. 64.215-37; Thomas (1982) 107 n.41; Ross (2007) 38. For wider connections between Pallas' fate and Cat. 64, see O'Hara (1990) 44-6.

<sup>80</sup> See Hollis (1990) 306-7.

the homelier elements in the story. From what little survives in the papyri, we know that Theseus wrestled the bull's horns to the earth (fr. 67 Hollis) and smashed one of them with his club (fr. 69.1 Hollis) before dragging back the beast alive (fr. 68 Hollis). A spondeiazon casually quoted by Cicero (fr. 165 Hollis *πολλὰ μάρτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἥερα θυμήναντα*, 'venting all in vain with its horns into the air') may also belong to this section of the *Hecale*, as suggested by Catullus' near-identical (though inversely spondaic) description of Theseus' defeat of the Minotaur 'as it hurled its horns to no avail in the empty winds' (64.111 *nequiquam uanis iactantem cornua uentis*).<sup>81</sup> Similar to these lines, and therefore a likely 'window allusion' via Catullus to the Callimachean source, is Hercules' capture of Cacus 'as he spewed his unavailing fires in the darkness' (259-60 *hic Cacus in tenebris incendia uana uomentem | corripit*). The Athenians' awe at Theseus' exploit (fr. 69.2-3 Hollis *ὡς ἴδον, ὥς] ὅμα πάντες υπέτρεσαν, οἱ δέ τις ἔτλη | ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ θῆρα πελώριον ὄντα. ἰδέσθαι*, 'as soon as they saw it they all trembled and not one dared to look directly at the great hero and the monstrous beast')<sup>82</sup> also finds general correspondence in Virgil, with the difference that Cacus is dragged out dead (264-5 *pedibusque informe cadaver | protrahitur*, 'the hideous corpse is dragged forth by the feet') and the onlookers are unable to avert their gaze (265-7: see above).

These interpenetrations of inset and framing narratives in text and intertext do much to nuance the more obvious typological parallels in *Aeneid* 8. Within the framework that relates Aeneas' reception by Evander to Theseus' reception by Hecale, the inset of Hercules' victory over Cacus replays Theseus' defeat of the Marathonian bull. Aeneas' later victory over Turnus then replays the inset of Theseus' defeat of Cercyon, Aeneas thus avenging Evander as Theseus (albeit unknowingly) avenges Hecale. In this way, Aeneas' coincidence with the feast held annually in commemoration of Hercules' victory (*Aen.* 8.172-4) itself coincides with Callimachus' aition of the modest *τράπεζα* held annually in Hecale's honour (fr. 82-3 Hollis, cf. *Aen.* 8.174, 283 *mensae*). In Virgil, however, the commemoration focuses on a victory achieved through violence, whereas in Callimachus a humbler emphasis is placed on the social value of *xenia*. Here the *Aeneid* enacts a process of cultural

<sup>81</sup> See Hollis (1990) 323-4; Hunter (2006) 98-9; Knox (2007) 166-7; Fernandelli (2012) 12 with n.41. For the scholarly history on this line, see Syndikus (1990) 148 n.194.

<sup>82</sup> See Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 250 for the Iliadic antecedence of this fragment.

translation whereby the Hellenistic Atthidography of the *Hecale* is overwritten in the production of new aitiologies for Augustan Rome.

### Digestif

Considered purely from the perspective of epic narrative, the parallels between *Aeneid* 8 and the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* map the *hospitium* of Aeneas-Evander onto the *xenia* of Heracles-Molorcus and Theseus-Hecale. These narrative parallels will be all the more radically embedded in the *Aeneid* if, as suggested above, Evander's loss of Pallas and his subsequent vengeance through Aeneas is a subplot that expands on the intimations of parental bereavement and vicarious retribution that scholars have detected in the fragments of the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale*. As this subplot approaches its gory dénouement, the similes that compare Turnus to both lion (*Aen.* 9.792-6, 10.454-6, 12.4-9) and bull (12.103-6, 715-22) bring the Callimachean intertexts of Book 8 to their inevitable conclusion.<sup>83</sup>

These parallels cannot be considered independently of the parallelism between the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale*. That parallelism renders it impossible to decide in absolute terms which of the Callimachean texts enjoys greater traction with the *Aeneid* (indeed, the typology that associates Aeneas with Hercules within epic-time and with Augustus beyond it suffices to illustrate the potential of narrative structures to migrate from one context to another). Rather, the interrelation of the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* reminds the reader to consider how both narratives, received as a carefully constructed pair, work simultaneously in the *Aeneid*.

On the level of genre, Callimachus' deft transposition of the Homeric hospitality story between the elegiac and epic genres can be regarded as an important context for Virgil's self-imposed 'problem' (a hyperextension of Callimachean aesthetic debate) of how to write a Homeric poem in the Callimachean style.<sup>84</sup> The

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<sup>83</sup> Thus, e.g., *Aen.* 12.104-6 *irasci in cornua temptat | ... uentosque lacessit | ictibus* ('he tries to vent his rage in his horns ... and lashes the winds with his blows') recalls Call. *Hec.* fr. 165 Hollis and Cat. 64.11 (see above); see Tarrant (2012) 118 ad loc. Nelis (2001) 352 and 365-76 links Cacus and Turnus to the fire-breathing bulls confronted by Jason at *Argon.* 3.1278-1339, a passage which itself seems to be intertextual with Callimachus: see Bing (1988) 87 n.62; Harder (2012b) 235-6.

<sup>84</sup> On the *Hecale* in this regard, see Cameron (1995) 437-53; Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 196-200, 249-55; Ambühl (2004) and (2005) 58-63; Gutzwiller (2012). On the

hospitality-narrative at Pallanteum takes its cue from Callimachean precedent to solve this problem as part of the process whereby the *Aeneid* establishes Virgil as the Roman Homer. Generic rapprochement should not, however, obscure an important respect in which Virgilian narrative remains distant from Callimachean modernism: like the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid* ultimately subordinates to its epic teleology the antiheroic or ‘realistic’ atmosphere that dominates the discrete narratives of the *Aetia* and *Hecale*. The bucolic interlude in Pallanteum is hedged about by Aeneas’ impending war against the Latin ‘suitors’ of Lavinia, and Evander’s *xenia* is overshadowed by the intertextuality that is claiming his son as the Patroclus of a Roman *Iliad*. The theme of parental bereavement thus shifts from poignant Callimachean subplot to tragic Homeric masterplot. At the end of *Aeneid* 8, Aeneas hoists onto his shoulders the shield on which is depicted the ‘renown and destiny of his descendants’ (*Aen.* 8.731 *famamque et fata nepotum*) primarily in imitation of Homer’s Achilles (via Apollonius’ Jason), and only secondarily of Callimachus’ Heracles – at the very moment, moreover, when the latter dons a lionskin that will afford him the protection enjoyed by Aeneas in the *Iliad*. In such ways as these, the intertextuality between the hospitality narratives of *Aeneid* 8, the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* is more extensive and meaningful than has previously been appreciated.

Virgil’s Callimachean intertextuality will provide more than a literary feast if, as suggested above, the parallelism between the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* also implies the coordinate cultural projects of Athens and Alexandria. It is on the level of politics and ideology, then, that Virgil’s reception of reception plays out in the new cultural centre of Augustan Rome. The interplay of past and present in the Callimachean intertexts proves to be comparable to the temporal and diegetic strategies employed in *Aeneid* 8: in all three cases inset narratives reflect their framing texts, and these frames in turn reflect the context of each poet’s present. However, in the historical gap that separates Callimachus and Virgil, a revealing inversion of temporal perspective must be noted: whereas the *Victoria Berenices* embeds mythological paradigms within its present-day encomium of Berenice (Heracles’ defeat of the Nemean lion and Molochus’ of the mice each reflect and modulate the recent victory of the queen’s horses at the Nemean Games), *Aeneid* 8 embeds its encomium of the Augustan present within the mythological framework of Aeneas’

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*Victoria Berenices* as an ‘elegiac epyllion’, see Palmore (2016). Hinds (1987) is a fundamental study of parallel epic and elegiac narratives in the Ovidian corpus.

arrival in Pallanteum. This complex incorporation of the *Aetia* in the *Aeneid*, as in the *Georgics*, enlists Ptolemaic literature in the service of its Roman successor. If the *Hecale*, likewise, refashions Athenian mythology as the heroic past of the present age of the diadochi, *Aeneid* 8 historicizes that present for the politics of the Augustan now. Read in this way, Virgil's temporal inversions of the *Victoria Berenices* and *Hecale* assume an unsettling ideological force: the encomium of Augustan supremacy in *Aeneid* 8 overturns Callimachus' dual celebrations of the Ptolemaic dynasty in the demise at Actium of the last of the Ptolemaic queens. Transplanted to Latium, Virgil's Arcadians cannot but remind us that Rome has superseded Alexandria and Athens as the political and cultural centre of the ancient Mediterranean.<sup>85</sup> In this context, Virgil's subtle intertextuality is an instance of 'soft power', but it also implies a more aggressive model of reception that meditates on the extent to which the brute force of Roman imperialism eclipses an older order of *xenia*.

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<sup>85</sup> On Athens and Alexandria from the Roman perspective, see Hutchinson (2013) 81-97, 123-30.

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